/55 cont./

776 782 Other gods distant from him, the sun and the moon, for example, just like the tly-nivukh'i, interest him little, for these gods are not closely related to his life and needs. On the other hand, the Gilyak is in constant communication with such gods as the master of the taiga, the sea, and the fire, turning to them sometimes with sacrifices, sometimes with prayers. Usually both acts are joined together. For an ordinary sacrifice neither solemnity nor any special objects are necessary. The principle /56/ of sacrifice is exchange, and therefore one cannot give the god of the sea fish, nor the god of the taiga the meat of animals.

782 [484] If the Gilyak sails on the sea and is afraid of a storm, he respectfully lowers a leaf of tobacco or a handful of rice over the side and says: "Please make the sea calm, so that I may arrive home alive and healthy." Whenever the Gilyak sets out, he takes along in a special sack his favorite objects for sacrifice, sweet herbs, sarana, and so forth -- since the gods are not demanding.

● 123 776 Some kind of candy delivered to the deity may sometime stand one in very good stead. I experienced this once myself. It was in August, 1894. With great difficulties, almost without provisions or supplies, and with one piece of brick tea and some biscuits, I reached the Head of the earth. When I unexpectedly informed my companions that I had decided to betake myself up to the top of the "Head" in order to collect plants and remove some stones, my companions were overcome with panic. They adjured me to renounce my "insane" intention, which had to lead to our common destruction, offering as proof the example of two Russian seamen who had attempted to go up to the top of the small god, Lazarev Cape, perished, and were buried there. The captain of my boat, Gibel'ka, an intelligent and loyal Gilyak from the settlement Tangi, who had become quite attached to me, was especially agitated.

/56 cont./

123 776 "What are you afraid of?" I said to him, "You will stay, be alive, go back home, everything will be fine and do not worry about me.""No, friend," replied Gibel' with animation, "that is a bad law; we have traveled together, worked together, written together, searched together for the stone ax, looked at people together, passed judgment together, and now I will go back home and are going to die here? Is such the law? And what will the most great chief say? 'Why,' he will say, did you not see to it that the "tyan'gi" (gentleman) traveled well?' He will say that I killed you. That will be a great sin. No, you had better not touch the god of the earth; he is terribly big, strong, and he can get terribly angry."

123 776 782 Seeing that I was adamant, Gibel'ka, after some thought, said: "You have nothing to give the Head of the earth, such an important 'tyan'ga' and yet to have nothing to give. If we give him a present and say a good word, perhaps he will not become angry." Then I remembered that a few pieces of candy that I use for slaking my thirst when climbing a mountain were left in my pocket and, showing them to my elated companions, said that I /57/ would take them to the angry god and say a good word. My companions calmed down somewhat, and I set out on my way. In the evening when I came back loaded with a collection of herbs and minerals, my companions surrounded me with joy and began to inquire about what word I said to the Head of the earth. I was forced to recite for them impromptu prayers in their national style. "Lord of the Earth, you are very big and strong and can become terribly angry. All people know you. I came from a distant land, from a most distant land I came in order to look at you; please make it so that I and my companions are healthy and return home, and do not die of hunger on the way. Please feed me well!" When, exhausted and starving, we returned that very day to the settlement of Nyur very close by, and Gibel'ka, while the tea was being boiled, told the amazed listeners about my sacrifice and about the eloquent prayer, something extraordinary happened. All the people looked with tender emotion, while

/57 cont./

123 776 782 the women rushed to their storehouse to fetch the precious buda reserved for sacrifices, in order to feed me and my companions and thereby fulfill the will of the Head of the earth. Thus, thanks to the piece of candy, I, in the opinion of the Gilyak, not only saved my life, but unexpectedly obtained for my companions and myself a dish which we had not seen for a long time.

782 The Gilyak also has live sacrifices, the objects of which are dogs. A dog is killed, by strangulation, before the season of sable hunting, during the bear festival, before departure for a long journey, during sickness, and generally on the solemn occasions of life. Before it is killed, it is fed, and at that time, depending upon the circumstances, it is given one or another [796] mission. Thus, during the bear festival, the dog will be told: "Follow your bear to the highest mountain. May the master love you. Change this hair and come down next year as a bear [755] so that I may see you." When a dog is killed on the occasion of sickness, it is asked to be the intercessor for the sick man before the god to which it is being sent.

Thus the victim is a simple envoy, whose soul, after its death, will reach the master who lives on the highest mountain.

775 614 Clan gods constitute a special category of gods. As a matter of fact, these gods play a most important role in the life of the Gilyak, and it is most often to them that the Gilyak offers his sacrifices. In each element there is a clan god. The clan gods are of particular /58/ interest, because in this tribe we can most clearly trace the very genesis of this very common fact of primitive religion. Even among the Greeks and the Romans the worship of clan gods was a common phenomenon. The clan gods of the Gilyak are not supernatural mythical beings, as among the Greeks and the Romans, but their very own clansmen who, for a variety of reasons, have entered the clan 775 614 766 of one or another god "master." A particularly fortunate combination of circumstances, if I may express myself thus, is required to attain such an honor. If, while hunting, a Gilyak was killed by a bear, if he fell prey to the waves on the water, if he was murdered or burned to death through his own carelessness, if, according to the shaman's explanation, a woman died from

756/76 cont./ Once I myself became the object of a legend about the
●123 omnipotence of a shaman. In the settlement Nyyvo, at the mouth of the Tym', I once ventured to offer medical help to a female patient of a famous shaman. Learning of my interference, the shaman not only prohibited taking my medicine, but decided to punish me severely for my insolence. Immediately after my departure he went fully dressed into the waters of the bay and began to adjure the god of the water to fall on me with all sorts of punishments. A day later I had to spend the night in an abandoned Orok shed on the lower shore of Nabil' Bay. At night there arose a strong wind accompanied by a most terrible downpour; the water began to spread beyond the shores of the bay and to flood the low area. We awoke at dawn, literally swimming on our bedding. It was necessary to build a platform and shiver with cold on it for many hours until the water receded. For all the Gilyak on the coast there was no doubt that I had borne the punishment sent down by the shaman, who, moreover, could have been much sterner, but this time spared the Russian "tyan'gi" (gentleman). It is remarkable that the death of my female patient, even though she had refused to take the medicine I had left, was charged, not to the shaman, but to her sacrilegious appeal to me for help.

1?? The Gilyak, however, willingly and with full faith, are treated by the Russians, not, of course, because they believe in the power of science, but for completely peculiar reasons. "The Russian god," they reason, "is stronger than the Gilyak one; this means that the Russian shaman is stronger than the Gilyak one." /77/ And if you inquire why the Russian god is stronger than the Gilyak one, you might hear such an answer: "Behold how many centuries the Gilyak has been living here, and he still travels on paths, but the Russian arrived and immediately built wide roads, such roads as the Gilyak has never seen." It is curious that neither steamboats nor automobiles, nothing impresses the Gilyak and convinces him of the superiority of the Russian god over the Gilyak one as much as just these roads.

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585 It is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the kettle" takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Negda," who since olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

585 A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family, and when they again depart they once more go through the ceremony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of kettles, they use cups.

593 The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages are not always happy. Since the consent of the woman to the marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to the protests of their daughters, not backing down from their decision even in the face of a threat of suicide, life after the wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and otherwise he demands the return of the bride price. Since no one has a desire to part with something once it has become his own property, litigations to recover the bride price are endless.

[123] During my wanderings among the Gilyak, who at first took me to be one who had power, I had to listen to complaints concerning the return of bride price in every settlement. They preferred, however, to ask for the forcible return of the wife, which was often done by the Sakhalin administrators with the favorable assistance /284/ of the priests. The fact was that persons who had lured away or abducted another man's wife appeared before a missionary with the request to be baptized and married, in order to guarantee themselves against the wife's being forcibly taken back by her former husband. The missionary willingly fulfilled such requests and gave them a marriage certificate, which gave to her owner the right to a police order demanding her return in case she was forcibly taken away. And this led to tragedies. One such case deserves to be immortalized.

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122 Little as I understood Gilyak, it was nevertheless always more than any other newcomer in the Amur region, because it was more important for me to learn the language than for anyone else.

[123] Also, I can offer the testimony given by the Gilyak themselves to the effect that I did not speak their language like the other Russians (or foreigners), but in the way they themselves spoke (2),

> 2. I heard them say to one another about me, he speaks "mer ngarlatsch," i.e., "like us."

which undoubtedly referred to my use of some of their /7/ verb forms and suffixes, which were still wholly unknown to my contemporaries in the Amur region, and in any case did not mean much in view of their extremely slight knowledge of Gilyak. It was similar for Maximowicz with the Olcha and Goldi as for me with the Gilyak. Therefore none of the information given below about these peoples was obtained through the mediation of

122 128 interpreters. This circumstance perhaps makes our reports much less complete than they would have been otherwise, since at the beginning, before learning the language, we had to limit ourselves to observation with the eyes and renounce the much more important instruction through the ears. On the other hand, however, the information, especially concerning abstract things, religious conceptions, and the like, could only gain in trustworthiness and inner value if it was obtained directly and immediately and not rendered in the light in which it was reflected in the mind of an uneducated interpreter.

123 Another and scarcely less significant difficulty in ethnographic research lies in the easily understandable suspicion with which the traveler is only too apt to be met among a half-wild foreign people and which makes the people either taciturn and reserved or even prompts deliberately false and untrue statements. I tried to overcome this, on the one hand, by friendly advances, small presents, hospitality, and kindnesses of all sorts, and, on the other hand, by caution in accepting all

/7 cont./

•123 information, by frequently examining and testing it by means of repeated inquiries on the same subject, and, finally, by learning their language. I believe that I reached my goal completely in the case of the Amur Gilyak, who more frequently came to the Nikolayev Post, for I gradually won trust and popularity among them, such as later perhaps would not appear again. In winter, when Gilyak came to the Nikolayev Post, they drove directly up to my house, unharnessed their dogs, pulled their light sleds into the antechamber, and settled down confidently in my presence, certain of receiving from me both food for their dogs and, for themselves, food and tobacco for smoking à discretion, indeed even perhaps a few trifles, a few needles, buttons, and the like as gifts. This gave me the assurance of finding on my eventual trips a hospitable reception likewise from each of them. They turned to me when in their dealings and trade with the Russians an injustice had been committed against them in their opinion; they complained to me about their distress when, say, a dog was stolen from them, a storeroom was plundered, a monument destroyed; indeed, they sometimes voiced in my presence their fear about what was to become of them in view of the growing number of Russians and their settlements. When, in the winter of 1855/56, I was sick in bed with gastric fever for several weeks, the news of it spread quickly among the Gilyak, and when, in the spring of 1856, I was finally about to leave for good, I received many demonstrations of their regret upon learning that hereafter I would no longer be at the Nikolayev Post. Farther away from the Amur, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin, however, I have also found that the Gilyak suddenly stopped in the midst of a long, calm communication and asked one another the question, /8/, for what would I probably use the information concerned? And after they had agreed that a possible colonization among them by the Russians might depend on my recital concerning the condition of the country, the communication either stopped or it took on an entirely different character, painted as black as possible or

G /8 cont./
●123 absolutely negative. In their naïve way they, of course, did not suspect that I might have understood their conversation.

G SS 121 The above-mentioned circumstances that I was unable to come into equally close contact with all the Amur peoples naturally was fundamentally decisive for the nature of the treatment of the subject in the following pages. If detailed or even approximately complete information about all the Amur peoples were available to us, a monographic discussion of them would perhaps be most suitable; for with such a comprehensive picture of the physical and spiritual life of each individual people, its entire individuality would be seen more precisely. But we do not have such rich material at our disposal. Moreover, with such a treatment a drawback, I mean frequent repetitions, would be unavoidable. For primitive peoples, or at the least peoples who are still half-wild, who live as neighbors under the same stretch of sky, are thrown upon the same nature, the same food resources and means of existence, and stand under the same, though equally slight cultural influences, always have many correspondences with one another in their way of life, their practices and customs, their views, etc., however much they differ with respect to descent and language. For these reasons I preferred not to take up the various peoples of the Amur region coming under consideration here singly, one after the other, but rather in a comparative fashion, beside one another, always starting with the Gilyak, who heretofore were known almost solely by name, whereas they are the very ones whom I know best. Although such a treatment does not give a full, well-rounded, and self-contained picture of any of the peoples concerned, but rather only fragmentary descriptions, from which the reader has to put together the total picture himself, nevertheless, it might also have an advantage over the monographic treatment, beyond the avoidance of repetition already stressed, in that it offers more opportunities for general comparisons and conclusions concerning separate phenomena in the life of primitive peoples and therefore also permits much deeper insight into the natural and cultural history of mankind.

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8. (cont.)
Section 3: "Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials bearb. von Friedrich Müller /Ethnography, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller/," Vienna, 1868, p. 158. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur peoples.

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Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of the Chinese origin of them. According to U-tschen, the Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet

1. Cf. Wassilijef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused general indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "uftsch, uftsch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

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[171] 1. I later saw something similar among the Daur in the village of Chormoldin: the hair was shaved off the boys and a tuft of hair was left standing only here and there, quite unsymmetrically, either on the crown or on one side, which gave them a very comical appearance. The Chinese presumably also do this.

Adults, however,
[753] never have their head or beard hair cut; indeed, among the
[761] Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them had his braid cut and his hair shorn, it would bring him sickness and
302 death. After death, however, the braid may be cut off and pre-
765 served by the relatives of the deceased. For instance, the Gilyak Kimrkan in Kalm showed me the braids that he had removed from his first wife and his daughter after their deaths, and which he carefully stored, wrapped in birch bark, in the small hut erected for the manes of the deceased, the so-called rakk,* which

*/HRAF note: According to the list of errata on p. 777 of the foreign text, rakk should be raff. An asterisk on the latter word refers to a footnote which reads "Noted later"; see note * on p.1236./

302 will be discussed later. In caring for their hair, the Gilyak are
515 just as untidy as in their clothing. Hence one often sees them
136 hit their heads with the palms of their hands in order to check the annoying vermin, or scratch their heads, which characteristically is always done with the thumb while the other /411/
[751] fingers rest on the head. Indeed, the Gilyak even regard the presence of vermin in the head hair as a sign of good health. Thus, during my stay at the Nikolayev post, it happened that a Gilyak boy was taken by a Russian for rearing in his house, but when the father visited the boy after a time and missed the vermin in his hair, he explained that he was worried about
515 his health and took him back again. In connection with this,
825 the bad habit of cracking vermin from the head or clothing in the mouth prevails among the Gilyak, as among so many primi-
[123] tive peoples. My disgust at this, occasionally expressed to them, seemed ridiculous to them, and to my question as to why they did it, since it could be neither for food nor for a delicacy, I was given the answer that they were paying back the little animals for what the latter were doing to them.

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*262 231 The use of the dog for food on the part of the Gilyak is of a wholly different significance, not so much social as practical. Understandably they must try to get the greatest possible use from their sole domestic animal, which, moreover, they are obliged to keep in large numbers as draft animals. This is attained [237] inasmuch as even in case it becomes useless for transportation, because of debility or injury, they utilize it by using its skin for clothing and its meat for food. As a result of this triple usefulness, the dog has the same significance for the Gilyak as the reindeer has for the Tungus and other reindeer nomads. Moreover, the Gilyak find great tastiness in dog meat, which is understandable inasmuch as it, as a consequence of the almost exclusively fish diet that the dogs have among them, must likewise taste strongly like fish, and this can be nothing but most agreeable to the Gilyak palate (1). For this reason the Gilyak were always willing to buy [123] [434]

[114] [122]

1. I could not bring myself to taste even the dog meat that the Gilyak ate in my presence, but I know that the meat of an animal fed on fish acquires a strong fishy taste, from my experience with a little pig which Maximowicz and I bought from the Goldi on the Ussuri and which we soon, although long deprived of meat, gave up eating for the reason mentioned. As early as Strabo [113] one finds the remark that in the land of the ichthyophagi (on the coast of present-day Baluchistan) the meat of cattle tasted like fish (Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Menschheit und die Entwickel. der Civilisation /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, translated from the English by H. Müller, p. 269). It is known that in Kamchatka even the milk of cows, if they have been fed jukola for a time because of a shortage of hay, always gets a more or less strong fishy taste.

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from me for a small consideration the dogs that had become useless on a trip. The Gilyak do not consume their dogs, however, without an urgent reason. Such a reason can appear readily enough, however, if individual animals are injured or rendered useless, or if there are too many of them and, correspondingly, a shortage of food; in fact, even superstitious ideas can give rise to it. Thus, I have seen it happen, for example, in the village of Tyk on Sachalin, where I was delayed on account of severe snowstorms for several days in February, 1856, in the company of a few traveling Tschomi and Tymi Gilyak that, in order to calm the bad weather, after other means had already been sought in vain, three young dogs were strangled and consumed, which was to be repeated on the next day in case of failure. The meat and the entrails of the animals were thrown into the kettle, a part being added to the jukola soup for the dogs, and -- characteristically enough -- I saw the woman occupied with these preparations bite off a piece of the bloody entrails beforehand for herself and hand another little packet of it to a child, who likewise seemed to enjoy it very much. On another occasion, in the village of Duĭ, I was a witness to the entertainment of a large company of Gilyak with dog meat. This happened only as a celebration subsequent to a bear festival held there a short time before, traces of which were still to be seen in the exterior and interior decoration of the yurt. The dogs, among them a couple of invalids furnished by me, were killed in front of the yurt, skinned, disemboweled, the meat and the bones cut up, and all the pieces belonging to one animal wrapped in its pelt. /435/ Inside the yurt, the place between the rear sleeping bench and the hearth, where the scaffold with the bear's head had stood during the bear festival (1), was

1. The details concerning this will be found in the pertinent section specifically devoted to this subject.

marked off by two staffs, between which, on the floor, there was a stick decorated with a bundle of thin, curly, crimped wood

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439 few Gilyak are familiar with it (4). On the other hand, they are

4. Mamia Rinsô (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 193) says that the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin found the Japanese sugar that he gave them to try very tasty, but did not ask for more of it.

123 On the other hand, they are
263 very avid for Russian sugar; at the time of my stay there, next to tobacco, it was the main object of their frequent and very importunate begging, during which, as a rule, they pushed the children forward and, to arouse sympathy, pretended that they had an eye disease, maintaining that it could be cured only with sugar.
439 Not infrequently they also bought some in Nikolayevsk in order to
252 add it to their dishes, especially to the aforementioned flour-cakes
263 and to those prepared with cranberries or bilberries and the like. They even declared that they would not hesitate to do this to the dishes prepared for the bear festival, if it were available in sufficient quantity, which shows their entirely different attitude toward sugar and salt.

128 To conclude our statements on the food of the Gilyak, there
415 follows here a brief discussion of their most important implements and utensils used for holding the foodstuffs, as well as for the preparation and consumption of the dishes. First, only the ordinary objects of this kind used in daily life will be mentioned, while the special utensils used in connection with the bear festivals will be
312 discussed later at the proper place. As was already stated above,
415 close to the entrance of the yurt there is a bucket made of birch
[824] bark and filled with water, on which hangs a couple of bowls for dipping and drinking. The water for this and for the other house-
[482] hold needs is brought from the river by the women in pails, likewise made of birch bark, hung on a shoulder yoke /Pl. XXXIII, Figs. 1 and 2/, Gilyak dshamda and kormulk, respectively). /446/ Similarly
415 consideration has been given above to the large iron kettle (Gilyak
177 ormotsch(z)-wunj) which in the winter house is embedded in each of

[See category 116, P. 1013—Analyst]

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1. (cont.)
durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 44), the Ostyak on the lower Obj also keep their draft-dogs outside, but always feed them in the yurt.

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The dogs of the Russians on the Amur, bought from the Gilyak, to be sure, but, as was mentioned above, treated differently and in particular only fed outside, may fall short of the Gilyak dogs in this respect.

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The Gilyak sled (tu) has a peculiar form and nature. In comparison with the Russo-Siberian narte, as the sled used for traveling with dogs is called by the Russians, the Gilyak sled is very light, delicately and gracefully built, and, as a result of its flexibility, no less durable. Its form and construction is always the same, even if the size varies, so that in making it it seems that a certain proportion with regard to the individual dimensions
● [123] and parts is always observed. I had many opportunities to become familiar with the construction and measurements of these sleds because the Gilyak used my house in Nikolayevsk as temporary quarters and even had permission to put their sleds in a corridor of it, after the dogs had been unharnessed, while they tended to their affairs in the village. An ordinary sled which I measured, illustrated on Plate XXXVI, /see p.1016/, Fig. 1, had the following /482/ principal dimensions: the length from one end to the other was 14 feet and 8 inches (Russian or English), the width 1' 4", the height in the middle (including the protective soles to be discussed forthwith) 11". Thus, the sled was precisely 11
[192] times longer than wide and 16 times longer than high. Regarded as a whole and with respect to the individual parts, its construction is the following: the narrow and thin soles / runners/ (Gilyak tusskrj, a in the illustration) are horizontal only in the middle sections, but toward the ends gradually and gently slope upward. Because of their thinness, they would wear out easily; to protect
[192] them from this and at the same time to give them the proper upward curve toward the ends, they are provided on the underside.

/558 cont./

411 same time, however, they did not show any particular timidity
177 or fear in front of the gun, whereas a pistol imbued them with a
152 great, almost superstitious fear. For example, when I often had
● [123] to threaten them with the pistol for various acts of insubordination, they beseeched me not to make use of it, because this would bring misery to the entire house, even to the women and children in it. Could this fear simply be based upon the still great unfamiliarity with the use of this weapon, upon the awareness that it could be brought into action at short range suddenly and unperceived, or, as I am almost inclined to believe, on some other superstitious belief or association of ideas (1)?

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1. At this point I cannot refrain from mentioning another and similar superstitious fear on the part of the Gilyak, which at first seemed totally mysterious to me, and it was entirely by accident that I later obtained the key for an explanation of it. The case is also noteworthy because it is evidence of how profoundly certain impressions gained through unusual experiences persist in the mind and memory of a primitive people and how easily they spread, going from mouth to mouth, throughout their entire area. I owned one of those walking sticks from which a long fishing rod can be turned out, and I wanted to show it on one occasion to a Gilyak who was with me at the Nikolayev post, with the intention of delighting him, especially since the apparatus was used for fishing. I had scarcely pulled out the tip, however, when the man turned away in horror and implored me to put the thing away and not to cause any misfortune. Exactly

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1. (cont.)
the same thing was repeated several times later with other Gilyak from the various villages along the Amur and Liman, so that I never once succeeded in producing my stick in front of them, and from then on gave it up completely, trying in vain to think of a reason for this strange, highly excited, and fearful behavior toward an object as harmless as a fishing rod. How great, therefore, was my surprise when, already in St. Petersburg after my return, I once happened to hear Mr. v. Middendorff, who had visited the Gilyak ten years before I had, and, to be sure, in their most remote dwelling sites along Ulban Bay in the Sea of Okhotsk, relate how he had once played the following joke on them. As he stood in their company [231] in front of a white-tailed eagle which, chained, was perched on one of the fish-drying racks -- a very common sight in their villages, which will be discussed further in the following -- in front of their eyes he cut off a thin willow switch, stuck its point, unnoticed, into a little bottle of prussic acid which he carried with him, and held it in front of the beak of the eagle. The animal immediately collapsed and died, but the Gilyak were seized with horror and fear and from then on regarded our traveler as a powerful sorcerer. To me there now remained no doubt: obviously the news

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1. (cont.)
of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

41 171 [192] [824] [192] In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" (bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

[113]

2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

41 230 531 In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p. 1024/, Figs. 4 and 5, is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

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3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

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it to come out from its hiding place (2). For the shamans among

2. Arth. Nordmann, "Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/ (Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natur. de Moscou, 1861, Vol. XXXIV, Sec. Part, p. 251).

the Gilyak, quite apart from the character ascribed here to their songs, which in reality never at any time belonged to them, have nothing whatever to do with hunting, either for bears or for other animals. They never interfere with the pursuits of the practical life, fishing, hunting, trading, of this superstitious, to be sure, but vigorous and enterprising people, and, on the contrary, as we shall see in the following, practice their arts
224 825 on entirely different occasions. The Gilyak, by the way, do not regard the capture of a bear as an offense perpetrated against it, because through this it is introduced to a life with abundant food, a good home, and many marks of respect.
[796] The spirits of revenge can be aroused only by its death and being eaten, and therefore the bear festivals, leading to this outcome, are surrounded by a number of rules of behavior dictated by superstition, whose observance is supposed to ward
[797] off misfortune. The other animals are given less consideration, but even with regard to them there are many rules that are not to be neglected without causing future mishaps in connection with the hunting concerned, and, along with this, depending on the kind of animal involved, more or less grievous injury to the
224 825 profits. /564/ For example, I by accident came across the following superstition concerning the hunting of sables. When I
• 123 entered the yurt of Miwwach on the lower Tymy on Sakhalin, I
797 saw a sable hanging from the wall beam, which was still completely intact and evidently had just been brought in from a trap. As I was looking at the animal, the wife of the absent owner entered; obviously distressed because I had seen the

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224 825 123 797 animal, she reached for a fur cap and hung it over it and then, after a while, she took it from the wall, wrapped it in birch bark, and put it with the other possessions of the house. My efforts to buy it were entirely in vain, despite the high price that I offered; I was told categorically that it was already "uïtsch" (unlucky) that I, a stranger, had seen the animal unskinned, but the consequences for sable-hunting in the future would be even worse if she were to sell it to me in an intact state (1). The Gilyak in all probability behave in the same

224 825 [171] [113]

1. This superstition, which I also found among the Goldi, is no less prevalent among the Siberian Tungus and was transmitted by them to the Russian hunters in Siberia. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien /Journey through Siberia/, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, p. 278) for example, wrote of the Russian hunters from Kirenskoi Ostrog setting out in troops to hunt sable: "as soon as a sable is caught, it must be put away properly without anyone's having seen it, for they believe that if anything good or bad is said about the captured sable the rest of the catch will be spoiled."

way toward the other precious fur-bearing animals, in connection with which they are evidently governed by the same superstitious belief which I have already discussed above (p. 851) in speaking about seal-hunting. The utilitarian standpoint with regard to this superstition is also evident in the fact that it does not extend to worthless animals whose capture means nothing to the Gilyak, for fresh specimens of squirrels and Mustela sibirica just taken from the trap were relinquished to me by the Gilyak without further ado. If, on the whole, the traveler comes across far fewer Gilyak superstitions concerning hunting and the individual animals hunted than is the case with regard

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2. (cont.) whaler that had run aground in the vicinity of the northwestern tip of Sakhalin was killed by the especially notorious Gilyak from Tammlawo and the boat was plundered. In 1855, among the Gilyak of Poghobi, I saw a bucket bearing a number and an English inscription, which presumably came from it.

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that the occupation of their territory achieved by the Russians with very few means in the beginning took place in such a peaceful manner and without any bloodshed. Undoubtedly the love of trade inherent in the Gilyak to a high degree very essentially contributed to this. The possibility of being able to exchange in the Russian settlements an assortment of products of which they had an abundance, and for which they otherwise could find no market, such as fish, game, berries, etc., for various articles greatly coveted by them, especially material for clothing and tobacco, must have made them peaceably disposed toward them, and the great advantage that they were able to draw from this trade by their industriousness, cleverness, and skill kept suppressed the suspicion and fear that the newcomers and their rapidly growing numbers and strength aroused in them. The Nikolayev post soon became the most important trade center of the Amur Gilyak, and, thanks to the active trade /592/ that the latter maintained with their fellow-tribesmen along the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin, as well as with the Ainu and the Tungusic Amur peoples, many Russian wares were soon widely distributed in the region. Nevertheless, in my time among the Gilyak of Sakhalin, where, apart from the Murawjof post in Aniwa Bay, already destroyed again, there were not yet any Russian settlements, there was a suspicious and hostile attitude toward the Russians, which made it necessary for the traveler to be on his guard constantly against actual attacks. In the evening, when they sat around the fire blazing in the yurt, I repeatedly heard them argue about the Russians who had come into their

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123 country and, in the conviction that I did not understand them,
184 express the suspicion that they were now only exploring the
648 country, just as I was doing, in order to take possession of it later and to push out of it and destroy all the Gilyak. At some places, as in Tyk, Duĭ, and the uppermost Tymy villages, they sometimes even directly opposed me insubordinately and hostilely in that they did not want to permit me to stay in their yurts or to make a fire on their hearth for the preparation of my meal, and refused to sell me the necessary food for my dogs from their supplies. This latter refusal was even worse than the two first ones, because it could not be overcome by threats with pistol in
439 hand, as they could. Thanks to their passion for trade, however,
123 I was always able to put an end to them: one or another of them certainly could not resist the trade articles which I carried with me and produced apparently without design, and, if just one yielded to temptation and made a small trade, the ice was broken and offers rained down from all sides, so that I soon had more than enough of what was needed. With the opening of trade, however, agreement was always also reached on all
439 other matters. The Gilyak show much practical sense, clever-
157 ness, tenacity, and skill in trading. Only articles of known practical utility excites their inclination to buy: on the other hand, anything new and unusual, no matter how striking, is, to be sure, gazed at and admired (with the frequently repeated exclamation of "tsa-tsa-ä," accompanied by striking the head with the palm of the hand), and even accepted as a present, but never bought. Of their own wares they always offer the inferior pieces first and go up to the better ones, in the course of which they praise them and insist on the first demand. In short, everything points to a people skilled and experienced in trade, and how very much this in fact fits them can be seen from the following more detailed statements.

439 Despite the fact that all trade in the Amur region, and
435 hence also that of the Gilyak, is only barter and no money is used among them, nevertheless a not merely relative but absolute, numerically definable value for all the articles playing a role in

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423 224 226 619 Finally, they also embrace the communistic principle in that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishing and hunting, except for the places on the river where they have their salmon weirs and those spots in the forest where their traps and self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wholly without limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish, and the Tschomi Gilyak go far downstream on the Tymy River for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the sea-coast to catch kangi. It is true, the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak have ties of hospitality with each other. Also, in the [648] vast forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samagir to penetrate into their territory without molesting them.

685 [421] [123] Like the communism, the inviolability of property is also based upon the national principle. I have seen even old and dignified Gilyak men who could not resist a small theft, for example, a piece of butter or the like, quite apart from the young people, who go so far as to cut open and pillage travel bags, etc., as happened to me in the village of My in the Amur-[186] Liman. I was repeatedly warned by the Amur Gilyak about the inhabitants of the village of Langr, located at the entrance to 685 the latter. The opposite, however, that the Russians steal from 648 the Gilyak, happens much more frequently, and the temptation to remove a makeshift door or a fish net hanging in front in order to enter a storehouse and to pillage it is indeed much greater. Even the small burial houses were not safe for their contents, though they did not contain anything but a few articles of symbolic significance. Thus it came about that I became acquainted [192] with the principal international relationship between the two peoples from the Gilyakized Russian term for "to steal" (ukradntsch, Russ. ukrastj), and the Gilyak word (enngarsitsch) did not become known to me until much later. But it hardly ever happens that one Gilyak will steal anything from another. Indeed, I met 685 persons, such as Judin in Tebach, Mradamn in Ssabach, etc., 123 whom I could fully trust even from an international standpoint. The former, for instance, after a few days, returned to me a cigar case which I had left in his yurt, and there was not one

/669 cont./

685 cigar missing. I had even greater confidence in the latter.
123 Since I had to face the danger that a mechanical workshop
[122] erected in the immediate neighborhood of my house prepared for me, in that it almost constantly threw sparks from its chimney over my house, which was covered only with tree bark and hence might easily go up in flames, I decided, since I had planned a trip, to take my manuscripts and collections to the village of Ssabach for the summer and entrust them to the Gilyak Mradamn. The boxes were provided with a cover, tied crosswise by means of a rope, and put in the summer dwelling of the Gilyak. My trust was completely confirmed.

574 Finally, hospitality, too, is based on the national princi-
648 ple. At first it seemed that the Gilyak were inhospitable to me.
123 They are too suspicious, too avaricious, /670/ too concerned
[159] about their own advantage to be easygoing. On Sakhalin, on the occasion of my first visit to the islands, they wanted to prevent me from using the fire in their yurt and even threatened me with a knife, so that I had to resort to grave threats with my pistol in order to have my way. I must say, however, that prior to my first journey to Sakhalin the rumor had spread among the Gilyak that the Russians wanted the island for themselves and therefore intended to kill all the Gilyak. After I had spent a winter in the Amur region, however, and had formed numerous connections, from which they could see that I meant well and was always friendly toward them, they became friendly and hospitable toward me, so that a very good relationship developed, and I even enjoyed their confidence to some extent. But there

574 was always a great difference according to whether it was a
[648] Russian (lotscha) or a nibach (Gilyak) who was to be given lodgings: as soon as the cry "nibach pritsch" rang out, the fire, stirred up by the women, crackled more vigorously, a saber-shaped piece of wood (Gilyak warwars) was used to scrape and beat the snow from the person entering, a bowl of fish oil and ma was offered as a welcome, and, no matter how late it was, a meal was prepared. Then the host and the guest sat down by the blazing fire, the events of the day were discussed, in which the women also

/670 cont./

574 took part, and until far into the night one small pipe after another was smoked, passing from hand to hand, always in the same tranquil, deliberate manner. Hospitality also requires that the dogs be fed before they continue on their journey the following day.

484 574 The Gilyak thus travels only in short daily trips from village to village. If, with greater distance between the villages or when bad weather takes him by surprise, he is forced to spend the night out-of-doors, and he reaches the next village after the regular dog-feeding has already taken place there, the fire under the kettles is rekindled without further ado, and a special meal is prepared for the dogs of the newly arrived guest. Needless to say, he then stays there for the night and does not continue his journey until the following morning after the dogs have again been fed.

484 821 In any case, however, the weather is first carefully checked, especially in the villages located along the seacoast, where strong winds and blizzards very often occur and put the traveler [114] in danger. During the several days of bad weather which detained me in the village of Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin in February of 1855 and 56, I frequently witnessed the indecision which overcomes the Gilyak when the weather is still rather doubtful and the question arises as to whether going on under [157] such conditions would be too risky. In most instances the consultations ended in another day of rest, for haste is quite foreign to the Gilyak, and an almost excessive caution always guides [114] them on land as well as on sea journeys. On several occasions, [123] however, I also had an opportunity to marvel at their knowledge of the climatic conditions of their country /671/ and the experiences that they had with them, for I had once made ready to continue my journey and found myself forced to return to the hated village where I had been received so inhospitably. On another occasion I reached the seacoast, which was 5-7 versts from the village, and continued my journey along it, but had 821 to endure very bad weather and snowstorms. The Gilyak especially feared being surprised by an ady (north and northwest) or

/671 cont./
others were to follow (3). This method was at least more pur-

3. Concerning this, see p. 662 above.

poseful, for it increased the food supply of the people and saved dog food, the lack of which was already making itself felt at the time.

I never saw or heard of a Gilyak who, upon entering a house, greeted the host, hostess, or any other acquaintance with a word or gesture, nor is it done upon his departure. As I gather from Middendorff's handwritten notes, given to me to use, this coming and going without any salutation surprised him, too. With me they likewise constantly came and went without a salutation, or at most, later, with a "sdrástwui" and "proschtschái" learned from the Russians. Only in the presence of the Manchu and Chinese do they imitate the /672/ Tungusic Amur peoples by dropping on one knee in front of them and bowing their heads, but this is done only in order to gain their favor and to avoid being punished by them, since the Manchu officials in Ssan-ssin and other places strictly insist upon such a show of deference.

But what surprised me even more is the fact that the word "thanks" seems to be missing entirely from their lexicon. I never heard it used by them, either among themselves or to me. Middendorff and Glehn had the same experience. I should like to ascribe this to the incompleteness of our word list, which is in general very poor in expressions for abstract concepts and emotions. On the other hand, it is hardly to be assumed that if they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always eluded us. After all, we saw them in all kinds of situations when they received services or help and hospitality offered almost to excess. Is it possible that guests who have been sheltered, despite notoriously scanty means, for days as a result of storms setting in and who have been fed along with all their dogs, as the Gilyak do among one another, depart without having said a word of thanks? Is everything based only on national communism or on the certainty of reciprocity in similar cases? With regard to me,

571 /672 cont./ with regard to me,
123 however, neither the one nor the other would apply, and yet I,
[935] too, never received any thanks from the Gilyak. I am not thinking now of the gifts given in response to begging, which in Gilyak houses can become very annoying to the traveler and for which mainly children are urged forward. They may never have learned to say thanks or may have forgotten it in their inquisitive amazement at the traveler. But I have often enough shown the Gilyak greater services. For instance, they always found a hospitable reception at my house, where the safety of their possessions, their dogs, and all the rest of their outfit were attended to so that they could calmly go about their business in the village. Among other things, I once saw to it, thanks to the strict sense of justice of the then governor, Rear Admiral Sawoiko, that an investigation was made about the theft of a whole vehicle laden with all kinds of wares, which had happened to the Gilyak Judin; the culprit was convicted, and Judin was paid a sizable sum in compensation. Even in this case I was not thanked, though I was dealing with the best and most respected Gilyak.

431 On the other hand, it is customary for the Gilyak to
123 exchange small gifts as a sign that they wish to enter into closer, perhaps even business relations with each other. When I received such a gift for the first time, I asked the price of it, but was told that the word pai, that is, gratis or free, went with it and that I was informed by the Gilyak Jutschin, whom I already knew, that, in accordance with their custom, I would now have to give a gift in return, while repeating the same word /673/ pai. If the latter were not done, the objects offered in return would be rejected, and the word pai would be stressed once more. Sometimes I was even told in what form the return gift should be, for example, that it might consist of several tobacco leaves, some bread, several buttons, or the like. Custom requires, however, that, upon
431 acceptance of the return gift, the number of items is not to be closely examined, and in praise of the Gilyak I must admit they never deviated from this custom and that they were always satisfied with the return present, whatever it turned out to be. But this did not
[439] by any means prevent them in accordance with their greedy natures, from demanding very high prices in trading later. This

431 /673 cont./ this
439 custom may have arisen in consequence of the long trade relations
177 of the Gilyak with the Manchu-Chinese and Japanese, who in Ssan-
648 ssin, as well as in Ssiranussi, have their officials and trade agents who demand such captatio benevolentiae in their own interest and to the detriment of the government or the trading houses concerned.

437 Moreover, the Gilyak conclude no transaction without expressing the wish or the request that something over the price agreed upon be given as a free gift, pai. And this is precisely what Judin did when, in the transaction with the Russian-American Company for the sizable sum that he received for compensation, he wanted to be given various costly fabrics and other luxury items.

439 I must say for the Gilyak, however, that as a rule one can
123 trust their word and their honesty in business dealings with them,
157 for example, the delivery of wares or other articles paid for in advance. As guides, too, they are generally trustworthy; in fact, some of them so identified themselves with my interests that they occasionally even warned me against the thievish instincts of the population of this or that village which in their eyes was notoriously

114 bad. For the most part, especially in remote areas, it is very diffi-
157 cult to get guides for a trip, for as a rule the Gilyak are too suspi-
123 cious and fearful to give up their freedom and cast their lot in with that of the traveler. More than once I failed completely, but when I did get some I usually had reason to be satisfied with their determination, their exact knowledge of the locality, and, in the evening beside the blazing fire, with their communicativeness and cleverness. Among the many guides whom I had on my journeys, there were only two who deserted me. And that happened under circumstances which in part make their faithlessness understandable. On one occasion, when I was traveling along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, I was surprised by a bad snowstorm. The broad-soled Russian sled stubbornly stuck to the wet snow, and the dogs were already so tired that they constantly collapsed and could not be started up again by being beaten. There was nothing for us to do but to drag the dogs and the sled up the moderate height of the bank, which, covered with small dwarf larch trees, did not even offer the prospect of a cheerful campfire. No wonder that under such circumstances my guide, who on account of the earlier

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114 157 123 snowstorm had set out from Tägl merely on ski, continued on his way without considering us /674/ in the hope of reaching his nearby native village of Kullj before nightfall. Nor did he appear on the following day, and thus he gave up the fee due him. The other guide, a Tro Gilyak from Lub-wo, named Eospin, who had guided me through part of the Tymy Valley, behaved worse: he was forced to spend the night in Tafiz-wo in a small tent-yurt, where after the fire had died down the mercury froze, he crept out of it, cut the straps of one of my pack-sleds, burrowed through the contents, and made off with a few of my people's garments.

484 805 Only in one respect should the Gilyak never be trusted, namely, when it comes to setting the time when something is to happen, for instance, when a guide or somebody else is to arrive, etc. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that they have no proper conception of time and only a very inaccurate way of determining time and reckoning time. Apart from general designations, such as day (muw) and night (urk), morning (tyt) and evening (padf), the time of the day is determined only according to whether the sun (keng) is rising or setting (k. myrtsch or padntsch, is being born, and k. jugtsch or mutsch, is dying, respectively), whether the sun is climbing (k. tytyrach bokirtsch) or going down (k. kotretsch), and whether it has reached its approximately highest position, its height at noon (k. muwutytsch). As for the sequence of days, they have special designations for only the two days closest to today (nych), such as yesterday (nymr) and tomorrow (pyt or pat), the day before yesterday (nymrynk) and the day after tomorrow (possjch). There are, of course, no names for the days of the week, and the days of the month are not counted either. In order to designate a day back or ahead of the next two days, the Gilyak are content to give the number of night rests that there have been in the meantime or will be. On journeys, the spatial distances familiar to them from experience, come to their aid in that they know exactly what stretch they can cover in a day by boat or sled under normal conditions without tiring themselves or their dogs too much, and where they have to make their camp for the night. Such localities as a rule have special names among

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533 513 [123] 533 513 171 /680 cont./ Sometimes, when it lasted too long for me, I myself, or more often my men, put a stop to it. The Gilyak, however, are perfectly accustomed to this disturbance of the night's rest, and I never heard them raise an objection to it. It is the same among the other natives of the lower Amur region, Olcha, Samagir, Goldi (1), only among them the call of ga urging

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1. On the other hand, the Siberian Tungus who accompanied Erman on his voyage from Yakutsk to Okhotsk liked to sing in the daytime, but when he once asked them to repeat their songs in the evening by the fire, they explained unanimously and with a sort of religious awe that it was sinful to sing at night (Erman, Reise um die Erde, Histor. Bericht /Journey around the World, Historical Report/, Vol. II, p. 354). Perhaps the Russians taught them this so as not to be disturbed during their night's rest.

the continuation of the song is replaced by a nasal kä, kä (2).

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2. Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/," Zap., Sibirsk. Otd. Georg. Obshch., Bk. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 29) relates that an Ainu in the village of Tschikapergunai, after drinking sake, had begun to sing a song, an improvisation about his voyage. As soon as he stopped, all the Ainu called out in unison the words kä, kä, i.e., more, more, in order to make him keep on singing, and so it went on endlessly. Hooper (Ten months among the Tents of the Tuski, London, 1853, p. 137) similarly reports that the Chukchee, as spectators at such performances as dancing, imitations of the Eskimo, etc., which take place among them, express their approval with the words kah! kah!, which means the same as da capo.

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513 On the whole, it is surprising how often and readily the Gilyak,
171 or Olcha, etc., interrupts his night's sleep even apart from the nocturnal singing, he abandons his bed as soon as sleep leaves his eyelids, gets up, squats in front of the hearth, stirs up the fire in it or on it, smokes one pipe after another, etc. But I never
●[123] saw him, day or night, pace back and forth in the yurt, and whenever I did it, which was not infrequent on stormy days which permitted no activity in the open, this walking back and forth, inexplicable to them, evoked general amazement and smiles among those present, indeed, sometimes a direct question as to the purpose of it.

533 Since I rarely heard the Gilyak sing in the daytime, for the reasons given above, a statement by Middendorff about this, which I found among his handwritten notes left for me to use, is all the more interesting to me. My predecessor in the northern Amur region (3) became acquainted with the Gilyak at the Tugur

3. It is well known that Middendorff crossed the northern river system of the Amur from the mouth of the Tugur and via the Amgunj /Amgun/, the Bureja /Bureya/, and Dseja /Zeya/ to Ustj-Strelka, at the confluence of the Schilka /Shilka/ and Argunj /Argun/ to the Amur (see Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615-625).

and Ulbanj Bays, that is to say, at their extreme northwestern boundary, to which he had come in the company of some Yakut and Tungus. Through the latter his attention was called to the fact that there were some accomplished singers among the inhabitants of the place, and he requested them to exhibit their art. At first they refused; then one sang for a while, but soon, perhaps becoming embarrassed, he broke into laughter, whereupon all the others followed him. Now each one had to step forward in turn. In general they sang with far more melody than the Yakut, but gutteral and /681/ nasal trills also always played an important

Gi 574 576 177 /688 cont./ the traveler and puts a low table and a basin with glowing embers (jachalacco) beside it; indeed, he may even light his pipe at the embers and offer it to the guest in the hope that the latter will do likewise -- clearly customs borrowed from the Manchu and Chinese. In the meantime, the women have taken the baggage of the traveler from the sled and have brought it into the house.

Gi 574 576 171 [123] In the houses of the Olcha, Goldi, and Samagir one is very pleasantly impressed by the lighter atmosphere so much freer of superstitious restraints. Despite many contacts with them, I never heard any Olcha or Goldi expression for the Gilyak uïtsch, and none expressed in reiterated shouts from all sides of the yurt as a sign of general displeasure, such as happened to me so often among the Gilyak (1). They are much too modest and reserved

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G 576 123 1. On the basis of the many uïtsch in the Gilyak yurts I likewise made the observance of three uïtsch mandatory for the Gilyak who frequented my house in the Nikolayev post. Namely, they could not: 1) sit on my bed, 2) spit in the middle of the floor, and 3) smoke their own tobacco, but only mine -- an uïtsch that they accepted gladly.

Gi 574 576 171 they are much too modest and reserved for that. Finally, I must note a sign of more humane feeling or at least more civil formality among the Olcha and Goldi: the expression of gratitude, which appears so utterly alien to the Gilyak, I think I heard repeatedly among the former in the expression fodomonero.

Gi 648 175 In my time, the situation among the Goldi in politico-administrative respects was different than among the Gilyak and Olcha. Even after the abandonment of the trading center of Deren, the Goldi, like the Samagir and the Orochi, remained tributary to the Manchu-Chinese government, a situation which did not come to an end until 1858, after the conclusion of the Treaty of Aigun between Russia and China and the subsequent

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4.(cont.)
this fable by the Yukagir in the country of "Ssabatsia" (sobach'ya zemla = dog country) in Siberia, but he himself labeled the report doubtful.

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The length of the bear's captivity depends on its age: old animals are kept in captivity only a few months; young ones for several years, until they are fully grown. When it has acquired a thick layer of fat as a result of plentiful food and lack of exercise, the time draws near to lead it with great pomp to its doom. The only season of the year in which bear festivals take place among the Gilyak is winter, for then they stay, at least on the mainland, in the spacious dwellings built in accordance with the Chinese pattern and have much time for social gatherings, festivities, and feasting; in fact, the abundance of time is probably the chief reason why they like to prolong them as much as possible. In particular December, or Anj-long of the continental Gilyak, is the month in which most of the bear festivals occur. But this is by no means obligatory; they may equally as well take place in January and February; indeed, I myself attended such a festival among the Olcha that did not begin until March 22 (April 3). But this is about the latest date for it, for by then preparations for the summer begin in earnest, and soon afterward, in April and at the beginning of May, the move to the
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summer dwellings is undertaken. Sometimes setting the date for when a bear festival is to take place is assigned to the shaman, but usually, as was mentioned, it is left to the owner of the bear or bears, who is also the host, and he will let it depend on his own business affairs and can, if the latter demand it, have a more or less long pause between the individual acts of the festival.
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As a result of this, as well as thanks to the great number of bears kept in captivity by the Gilyak and Olcha and the long duration
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of the whole festival, it may easily happen that the traveler in the country will encounter here or there an individual act of the festival, but usually on such an occasion the Gilyak, animated by mistrust and suspicion, try to keep such strangers from entering their dwellings by all kinds of pretexts, as I myself experienced on Sakhalin.

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*796 After these preliminary and general remarks concerning the bear festival of the Gilyak, I shall turn now to a detailed description of it. At the beginning of 1856, I was visited /700/ at the
●[123] Nikolayev post by the oft-mentioned Gilyak, Judin from Tebach, renowned among his countrymen as the organizer of great bear festivals. Since he was very favorably disposed toward me and even owed me a debt of gratitude, I asked him to give me an opportunity to attend one of these festivals from the beginning, whereupon I was told in reply that within the next few days such a festival was to take place at his house and that he had come to Tschorbach, as the Russian post was called by the Gilyak, precisely in order to make a few purchases for the forthcoming festi-
[114] val. With my friend and later colleague at the Academy, C. Maximowicz, who was a skilled draftsman and happened to be visiting me at the time, we set out for Tebach on January 9 (21). After spending the night in Allof, we entered Wair about noon on the following day, where we saw traces of bear festivals that had already taken place: one of the houses was distinguished by a tall, slender little fir tree which stood in front of its transverse walls on either side and had most of the bark and all the branches removed up to the top, where a scanty crown towered
[778] over the gable of the house. A cord ran from one little tree to the other, slightly above the ridge of the roof, and from it bundles of curled wood-shavings, the so-called zach of the Gilyak, hung down to the roof. A stick stuck in the snow near the house door likewise bore on its tip a fir branch and a bundle of wood shavings. There was a bright full moon when we drove up before Judin's house in Tebach, which was decorated just like the one in Wair. As we were driving up the long, bank steeply sloping down to the river, on whose ridge the village of Tebach lies, we heard noisy cries of jubilation, and now we saw a crowd
*796 of Gilyak moving about in front of the house. They were young
526 men from the village and other guests invited to the feast, who,
[574] in a gay mood, were playing various games that are always associated with a bear festival. The games looked very similar

/709 cont./

*796 574 beside the other hearth where the host and a few other guests sit. In this case, however, it is regarded as the bench of honor because it is closer to the bears and in full view of them. On it, therefore, [123] as Judin told us, there are even more uftsch to be observed than elsewhere in the house, and when, for example, we wanted to make some notes in our journal about the bear festival and draw some sketches of it from there, he asked us with great politeness to sit on the longitudinal bench for that, because in the other place this could easily be seen by the bears and might be resented 516 by them. The guests sat down with their legs crossed under them in two rows on the bench: the older and more dignified ones immediately along the wall, the younger ones along the edge of the bench. Between the two rows sufficient space was left for a path on which the bowls traveled from one end of the bench to the other, in that they were put on the bench from the floor at the left end and came back again at the right end. When one bowl had moved along a bit, it was followed by a second, a third, etc. The number of the various dishes, however, was fewer than that of the bowls, for many a dish was repeated again after a couple of courses. It is strange that the host himself does not take part in [614] this meal, and similarly all the relatives on the paternal side, in other words, the so-called ngafk, are excluded from it with him, while the maternal/710/ relatives (amal or armal), as well as the friends and acquaintances, may participate in the meal, Judging by the quantity of foods and bowls that traveled back and forth, it was a very copious meal that Judin set before his guests. Nevertheless, most of his guests, after the end of the meal, went to another house in order to eat there, and this went on from house to house throughout the village, so that even the ngafk of a particular host probably do not come off badly.

Those Gilyak, however, who stayed in Judin's house, mostly younger people who had spent the night leading the bears around and therefore were probably tired, took advantage of the pause *796 after the feast to renew their strength with a few hours of sleep. The quiet lasted but a short time, however, for soon the women 541 began their routine morning activity, feeding the dogs, and then,

/714 cont./

*796 114 asked him to invite to his house this time instead a friend of mine ("amal," as the Gilyak say), namely, Mr. von Ditmar, and, as his companion, Mr. von Brevern, who was well-known to us. The [126] former promised me to keep a faithful journal concerning the [127] further course of the bear festival in Tebach, and the latter -- to make sketches of it -- a promise that both gentlemen kept, having put at my disposal the highly rewarding material which they brought back from Tebach (1).

[113]

1. Mr. C. v. Ditmar, now unfortunately deceased (since April, 1892), is the famous explorer of Kamchatka and the author of the work, Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamtschatka /Journeys and Sojourn in Kamchatka/ (see Beiträge zur Kennt. des Russ. Reiches, Series 3, Vol. VII).

*796 824 When, on January 27 (February 7), at eight o'clock in the morning, Ditmar and Brevern arrived in Tebach and entered Judin's house, they found the dogs' table removed and the floor in the whole middle area of the house thickly covered with fir branches (again from Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twisk). In front of the second center-post of the house, standing opposite the bear hearth and near the bench of honor, stood a large, four-cornered rack profusely decorated likewise with fir branches, young fir trees, and curled wood-shavings (zach), and made out of alder poles, the trunks of small young trees, which, according to ancient custom, must always be unpeeled and tied together at the intersections only with bast and the yarn of old fish-nets. From the uppermost shelf *796 of this étagère-like rack, the unskinned heads of the two bears belonging to Judin looked down, as it were, into the yurt and upon the people in it, but the rest of the skins, except for /715/ the toes, claws, and soles, hung down to the ground behind the rack (1). On

● [123] [126]

1. See Plate XLIX /p. 1249/. Because of the above-mentioned hindrances that the Gilyak

/715 cont./

*196
[1 2 3]
[1 2 6]

1. (cont.)
put in the way of making sketches during the bear festival, only one bear is pictured on our plate, which is sufficient for comprehension. But there were two of them in Judin's house.

the second shelf of the étagère, under each bear, lay the pelvis belonging to it and a few fish (Cyprinus carpio, Gilyak pilengat), which were put before them for food, as it were. At the sides of the rack, from the little fir trees and branches decorating it, hung pieces of fur from previously consumed bears and all kinds of gracefully carved wooden spoons and bowls, the purpose of which [184] will be discussed later, as well as numerous zach. In another house in the same village, where the owner of the third (medium-sized) bear lived, there was the same arrangement and decoration in the interior, but the étagère was smaller, though all the more elaborately decorated, and only one bear's head looked down. It is always left to the owner, if he has two or more bears, to erect either a special étagère for each one or one common one for all and therefore correspondingly wider.

When everything is prepared and decorated in the house as required, the transfer of the bears' heads from the läsng into the house takes place. This had already preceded the arrival of Messrs. Ditmar and Brevern in Tebach. But as they later learned, and as I myself had heard from the Gilyak, it is done in the following way. The oldest Gilyak of the village, "cheimar," i.e., graybeards, lift the bear's head and skin out of the läsng, carry it around the house three times on a path made through the snow and decorated here and there with peeled sticks, curled wood-shavings, and fir branches, and then stop in front of a window in the transverse wall opposite the bear hearth. The frame of this window has been removed, and through this opening, not through the house door, the bear is carried into the house and directly in front of the hearth dedicated to it, in order to warm itself first before it is lifted to the étagère as the place of honor. At this window,